

An Investigation of Ami-Religion

by

CHI-LU-CHEN and MICHAEL D. COE

Introduction

114 In the outskirts of the aborigine town of Tavarong on the east coast of Formosa is the last surviving ceremonial house of the Ami tribe, a representative of the type of religious edifice that once pervaded the Ami culture area. This building was well-known to Japanese ethnographers and was a cultural anachronism even in their day. The present writers undertook a four-day field trip in late November 1953 for the purpose of examining this house and its relation to the Ami life of the past. For this investigation into Ami religion we relied on the memory of these 121 informants, whose early manhood was spent in Tavarong before the Japanese authorities brought pressure to bear on some of the more important Ami institutions: Maran-Namo? [54], Vudai-Kate [49], Ra'a-Namo? [53], and Vwei-Mayau [58]. All informants reported directly in Japanese except Vwei-Mayau, whose information was translated from Ami into Japanese by Vudai-Kate. We sincerely thank these informants for the help which they rendered.

For readers unfamiliar with the background and present distribution of the Formosan aborigines, a few paragraphs will deal with this subject and the place of the Ami in Formosan ethnography, before Ami religion is treated in detail.

The Formosan Native Tribes

105 The aboriginal inhabitants of Formosa number over 200,000. This is in contrast with the descendents of the Fukien and Kwangtung Chinese who immigrated as early as the 16th century; these, together with more recent arrivals from the mainland, total over 8,000,000. One fourth of the aborigines live in the western plains and have been absorbed by the Chinese; they have in many cases lost their original customs and languages. The rest of the native tribes occupy the great central mountains, the Taitung Rift Valley and coastal area on the east, and Botel Tobago Island, to the southeast of Formosa. The relatively unacculturated Formosan aborigines are grouped under the following nine tribal names: Atayal, Saisiat, Bunun, Tsou, Rukai, Paiwan, Puyuma [or Panapanayan], Ami [or Pangtshah], and Yami. All these tribes are physically, linguistically, and culturally Indonesian or Proto-Malayan. They immigrated into the island at different times and into

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105 different localities, so that their cultures, though similar, are not uniform. The native tribes also differ considerably in the degree to which they have been acculturated and in the type of culture change that has taken place.

The Ami

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131
161 The Ami live in the Taitung Rift Valley, which runs in approximately a north-south direction for 150 kilometres along the east coast of Formosa. Some Ami live on the east coast proper. The Ami tribe is the largest on Formosa. They are divided into five groups by dialect and cultural differences. The number of households and population of each group, based on the census of 1937, are as follows:

GROUP	NO. OF HOUSEHOLDS	POPULATION
Pei-nan	859	9546
Heng-ch'un	461	4403
Hai-an	1159	11760
Hsiu-ku-luan	2008	15861
Nan-shih	1713	8436
Total	6200	50006

241
224
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611
591 The chief traits of the Ami are intensive agriculture and fishing; pile dwellings; paddle-and-anvil pottery; long wooden shields; feather headdresses; clans; matrilineal descent and matrilocal residence; classificatory or Malayan kinship terminology; parent-child nymic linkage; and age-grades.

361 Tavarong is a town of 5,000 population situated in the central part of the Taitung Rift Valley, in Hualien Hsien. It belongs to the Hsiu-ku-luan group and is regarded by the Ami themselves as the oldest settlement in the whole Ami area. About one per cent of the Tavarong townsmen are Christians; the rest hold to their native religion.

Gods, spirits, and souls

776 The Ami term for gods, which include also spirits and souls, is *kawas*. The Tavarong Ami believe in two kinds of *kawas*. The first kind, which may be considered natural gods, include *marataw*, *tsidar*, *borarj*, and others. *marataw* is a male tutelary deity who resides in heaven. According to informant Maran-Namo?, *marataw* is the god of "politics and strength". In former days, when the Ami were at war with their neighbors, the Atayal, they prayed to *marataw* for protection. *tsidar* is the female sun goddess, and *borarj* the male moon god. The sun goddess is held to be more powerful than the moon god. Maran-Namo? while explaining the designs on the houseposts of the house of the *kshita:n* (priest), stated that *tsidar* is the almighty deity and holds the supreme position over

1. Utsurikawa (1935) reported about 55 clan names for the Ami, but he gave no clan names north of the Vataan, Tavarong, and Karuran areas.
2. According to Furuno (1954:3-42), *marataw* is connected with headhunting and is the god of crops and game, as well as being the war god.

the other gods; both he and other informants failed to indicate any practice of sun-worship³. The second type of *kawas* are ancestral gods, called *tatakusan*. The Tavarong Ami worship their ancestors, especially the first ancestors *lotse* and *rarakan*; these latter live among the Ami, although they are invisible. *šikawasai* (shamans) have their special gods⁴. It is clear, therefore, that the Ami have a well-developed theogony, a trait not found among the other aboriginal tribes of Formosa⁵. 776 769

One who dies an unnatural death will become a *karia* or evil spirit. A person can contract an illness on encountering a *karia*. 774 753

Each individual possesses a soul, called *dogt*.⁶ If one's *dogt* weakens, one will become sick; and if one's *dogt* should escape from the body, one will die. In this connection, Furuno (1942: 19-23) reported that among the Ami, each human being has two souls, one on the left and one on the right shoulder. The one on the right shoulder is the good soul, and the one on the left the bad. The *karia*, or evil spirits, are the souls on the left shoulders of those who died an unnatural death.⁷

Shamanism

Religious activities are carried out by *šikawasai*, or shamans, and *kakita:n*, or priests. The functions of both are well-defined. A *šikawasai* is consulted mainly to strengthen or call back the *dogt* of a sick person. In this sense, the *šikawasai* may be defined as medicine-men. The *kakita:n* manage the Ami religious ceremonies, most of which are agricultural in nature. A *šikawasai* is believed to have been chosen by a dead *šikawasai* or by the *šikawasai* gods. When a young boy or girl contracts a chronic illness, he or she is regarded as having been chosen, and it is believed that that individual be cured by becoming a *šikawasai*. This child will then be taught the techniques by an older *šikawasai*. In the first year of his apprenticeship, until the next *irisig* (the Ami New Year), a taboo on the eating of fish and vegetables must be observed. He is also required to pursue hard labor and to abstain from washing the body. A primary qualification for a *šikawasai* is the ability to achieve a state of delirium. 756 773

There are today approximately ten *šikawasai* in Tavarong, seven men and three women. Oikawa's contention that there are more female than male *šikawasai*

3. Furuno [1945:20] recorded the following belief from the Hsu-ku-luan Ami: "*šidar*" the sun, gave life to human beings, animals, and plants. We think that she is a *kawas*, too. Rituals cannot be carried on without *šidar*. The *kakita:n* call on *šidar* in the *irisig*. At harvest time, we gave thanks to this goddess."

4. Sayama [1914] listed the names of two *šikawasai* gods, *saoripa* and *saorāzoi*.

5. Mabuchi [1934:35] discusses this theogony.

6. Furuno [1940:19-21] and Mabuchi [1934:35] recorded the *dogt* as a goddess.

7. This belief is found among other Formosan tribes. For a Bunun example, see Mabuchi [1951:55].

756 due to the fact that men have more difficulty in attaining a state of delirium (Oikawa 1935) obviously does not apply in Tavarong.

755 When a *sikawasai* is at his devotions, he wears special clothing and dances and prays. Sometimes wine, pigs, and rice cakes are offered to the gods. The *sikawasai* often uses banana and ginger leaves to rub over the affected part of the patient. The patient fasts while under treatment, and his family observes a taboo on eating fish and vegetables and on sexual intercourse.

There are seven kinds of rituals used by the *sikawasai* to cure disease. The prefix *pa* in the following ritual names means "to do anything connected with a ritual".

- 1) *miriwai*. This is a five-day ritual in which the *sikawasai* prays to *maratau*.
- 2) *pamaratau*. This ritual is shorter than *miriwai* and, according to the informants "less serious". The *sikawasai* dances and prays to the *tata-kusan*, the ancestors.
- 3) *pasaer*. A simpler ritual than the above two and which lasts for one or two hours. It is used to cure sickness brought on by the god of millet (formerly the staple crop, as a punishment for wrongdoing).
- 4) *pakawas*. On the death of a *sikawasai*, the *sikawasai* god may tell a man with a chronically ill offspring that that child should be shaman. This ritual is held to determine whether that course is correct. In it, the *sikawasai* consulted by the father prays to the *sikawasai* god.
- 5) *pasasidoi*. A simple spell to drive away the *karia* and to bring back and strengthen a person's dog.
- 6) *padoge*. A prayer to one's dog.
- 7) *mian?an*. The dogs of small children are not stable and are often lost. This ritual is performed to stabilize them.

787 The choice of the ritual to be used for curing a disease is determined by the result of *mi?lao* divination. Utsurikawa provides a detailed description of the *Ami mi?lao* (Utsurikawa 1938), translated as follows:

The divinatory instrument is called *mi?lao* and consists of two parts. One is termed *lao*. A *lao* is a strip of bamboo, about 35cm in length, with a bamboo-joint at one end and the inside face whittled with a knife. The whittling starts from the end with the bamboo-joint, so that mane-like whittled fibres remain attached to the other end. The remaining unwhittled part of the bamboo strip thus becomes thin and string-like. The process for making a *lao* is rather complex. The bamboo must be cut at a definite period of the year. With rice, wine, and betel nuts as offerings, they pray to their ancestral gods. The bamboo is then smeared with cow's blood and must be kept away from women. During the next few nights, the maker must seek for dream-omens. The bamboo, the material for making a *lao*, is called *lagas* in Tavarong and Kiwit. About five or six bamboos are bound into a bundle and hung above the fireplace for drying. The method of preparing a *lao* differs in other villages.

The other part of the *mi?lao* divinatory instrument is called *tsokak*. This is a piece of hardwood about 18cm in length. It is held under one foot of the diviner when in use. The end held under the foot is often somewhat thinner than the other end. The other end is about 4cm thick and has two or three grooves transversely carved on one side. These grooves are called *gakt*. 787

During divination, the *tsokak* is placed on the ground with the grooved side facing downward. The end without grooves is held under one foot of the diviner. The central portion of the inner face of the *lao* is breathed upon and smeared with ashes before it is used. Then, with the end with the mane-like fibres in his left hand, and with the end with the bamboo-joint in his right hand, the diviner saws the *lao* in the *gakt* of the *tsokak*. The *lao* will be severed by this heavy sawing, and the result of the divination can be read from the shape of the severed end of the part without the bamboo-joint, with the bamboo exterior facing the diviner.

By comparative study, Utsurikawa found that *mi?lao* divination has affinities in southeast Asia, particularly with the Kenyah and the Kayan of Borneo and with the Nagas of Assam. He therefore considered this technique as an Indonesian culture trait. 771

Priesthood

Among the Tavarong Ami, priests were called *kakita:n*. The office of *kakita:n* was hereditary: succession was by primogeniture through the female line. Formerly there were five or six *kakita:n* families in Tavarong, but only one, that of the late Saumah-Kuriu, remains in existence today, and will be described later. The cause of the decrease in *kakita:n* families was, according to one informant, due to the prohibition placed on native rituals by the Japanese authorities. The priestly families consequently declined because they had lost their function. The Saumah-Kuriu family retained its standing as it owned a ceremonial house with carved wooden posts; this house was designated an historical monument in 1935 by the Japanese colonial administration. 793

This same ceremonial house was reported by Utsurikawa (1936) and Tsijiwa (1944). The present house keeps its original form today although it has been rebuilt in recent years and now is only one half the size of the original house described by the above two authors. Its present plan and a side-view are shown in the accompanying illustration (Figure 1). According to Utsurikawa, the original house was abandoned in May 1930 on the death of the family head Saumah-Kuriu, a decision reached at that time by the family members on account of frequent misfortune. The house itself is unique: it is the only one in the entire Ami area having carved wooden posts. The designs on these posts are human and animal figures, curved lines, and sawtooth patterns. The geometrical designs are always symmetrical in arrangement. In the changing culture of the Ami, a new type of house has been adopted by the tribesmen. This ceremonial house remains as the only surviving example of their original type of dwelling. 346

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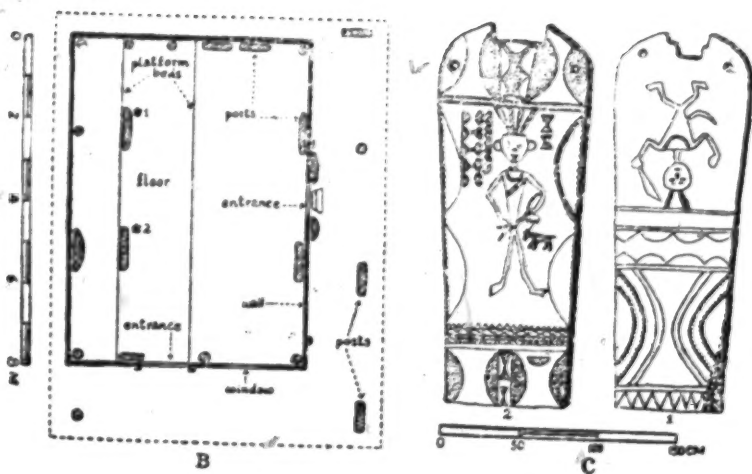
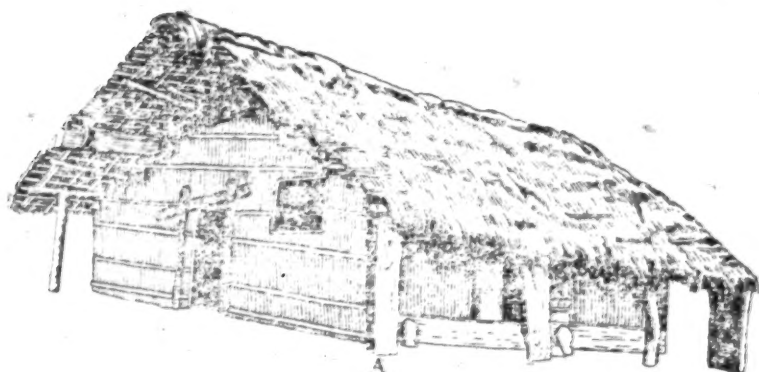


Figure 1: the Aukitum house of Tavarong.
A. front view; B. plan, with asterisks are posts with carving shown in C; C. carved posts.

surviving example of their original type of dwelling.

The *kikita:n* managed the religious ceremonies which were entirely concerned with the staple crops, millet and rice. The following were the more important agricultural rituals:

<i>misauma</i>	millet-sowing
<i>mikolas</i>	millet-weeding
<i>mihavai</i>	millet-harvest
<i>misapanai</i>	rice-sowing
<i>mi?ot?ot</i>	rice-weeding
<i>mibangi</i>	rice-harvest
<i>irisiq</i>	New Year, following termination of <i>mihavai</i> in mid-September

We will describe the *irisiq* and the function of the *kikita:n* during this rite in a later section.

Age-grades

We will describe the Tavarong Ami age-grading system in detail for two reasons, firstly, because some inaccuracies about this system have appeared in the literature, and secondly, because age-grading is at the heart of the Ami social structure.

The Ami age-grade system has been discussed by Ino (1910 and 1912), Koizumi (1928), Okada (1932a and 1932b), Kamura (1939:259-277), Furuno (1945:285-320), and others. Okada describes Ami age-grading as follows:

The age-grade systems of the tribe may be separated into two forms: those consisting of three class divisions—childhood, youth, and manhood with old age (found among the Nan-shih, Hsiu-ku-luan, and Hai-an groups); and those consisting of four class divisions—childhood, youth in the preparatory stage, youth, and manhood with old age (found among the Pei-nan and Heng-ch'un groups). The Ami age-grade systems may also be classified according to names above the youth class into three types: 1) those having a limited group of names which are cyclically used, 2) those in which names are assigned to all new grades, and 3) those which combine the previous two types. (Okada 1939: 14).

Okada has pointed out that the Nan-shih group and Vataan of the Hsiu-ku-luan group belong to the first classification; the Pei-nan, Hai-an, and Heng-ch'un groups and Tavarong of the Hsiu-ku-luan group to the second; and Kiwit of the Hsiu-ku-luan group to the third classification.

Wei in a recent article (1963) only recorded two types based on the assignment of names to age-grades. He names the first type of Okada as the "Nan-shih type" and the second as the "Ma-lan type". Okada's third type which is represented by Kiwit is classified by Wei under the "Nan-shih type". Wei also stated that

561 the age-grade system of Tavarong belongs to the "Nan-shih type". By comparing grade names collected in Tavarong by ourselves with those recorded by Sayama 1914:133 and Furuno 1945:300-1, we find that we are in agreement with Okada that the Tavarong age-grade system belongs to Wei's "Ma-lan type" instead of the "Nan-shih type". In other words, in Tavarong new names are assigned to all new grades. A reconstructed name list compiled by us for this paper giving grade names covering a period of 110 years will clarify this point:

GRADE NAMES COLLECTED BY CHEN AND COE IN 1953	GRADE NAMES RECORDED BY FURUNO IN 1938	GRADE NAMES RECORDED BY SAYAMA IN 1914	EQUIVALENT AGES OF GRADE MEMBERS IN 1953
Ratavok			16-20
Rariwas			21-25
Ratodo			26-30
Ratoron	Uratorun		31-35
Ravuvok	Uraboak		36-40
Rati?ol	Urator		41-45
Ratomai	Uratomai		46-50
Mawai	Umaowai		51-55
Rati?an	Uraowau	Uradewas	56-60
Ratsogau	Uratsogau	Uratsugau	61-65
Gaku?a	Urakoa		66-70
Rapara	Uraparo	Urarabe	71-75
Rao?ets	Uraoets	Uraoits	76-80
Ratoto	Uratodo	Uratodo	81-85
Ratavok	Uratabok	Uratabok	86-90
	Uratsiyan	Uratesam	91-95
	Umaorad	Umaorad	96-100
	Urawau	Urawau	101-105
		Urakoha	106-110
		Urateo	111-115
		Uratomai	116-120
		Urasadok	121-125

Furuno and Sayama recorded the grade names shown in the second and third columns in Japanese *kana* characters. Therefore, in the romanization, some minute differences in the names have been unavoidable. It will be noted that some changes of names have taken place; for instance Furuno (1945:301) reported that the age-grade name Uradewas was changed to Uraowau. One can also see from the table that although new names are assigned to new grades, there is a tendency to re-use names of former grades, although this is by no means done cyclically.

The age-grades are open only to males. At the age of 15 or 16 years⁸, a boy

8. Our informant Vudai-Katt said that 18 years was the usual age at initiation.

participates in the *misujar*, the initiation rite, and becomes a member of the first grade. Since the initiation rite is held only once every five years in the *sajuratan*, the assembly hall, two or three days before the *irisig*, there is some range of ages at which boys are initiated. On the day of the *misujar* all the old grades are promoted, although their grade names remain unchanged. A member of the Rariwas grade, for instance, remains so throughout life. Vudai-Kate reported that the interval between initiation rites was longer in the ancient days, and that it was reduced because of the increasing village population which has resulted in the increase of members in each grade.⁹ Each grade has its monitor, called *komol no surar*. Persons showing abilities for leadership will become monitors by common assent. Wei (1953) states:

Leadership within each grade is determined by seniority as well as by ability. When a grade is formed, one of them will be chosen to be the nominal leader on the basis of seniority. At the same time, two or three others can establish their leadership by their abilities, achievements, and wealth. They participate in the activities of the organization when the grade itself is still in the preparatory stage, to show their capacities and win support from their fellow grade-members.

Our information, however, indicates that in Tavarong there is only one leader in each grade, and he is chosen for his abilities.

The *irisig*

We have already referred to the *irisig* as one of the great Ami agricultural rituals. Furuno (1945:101-103) has described the *irisig*, which was the Ami New Year. After the millet-harvesting rite, there was a lull in the life of Tavarong. Since there was little to do, the townsmen repaired their houses. On the first full moon following the house repairs, the *irisig* commenced. It was the most important ritual of the year. The *irisig* was managed by the *kakita:n* family. One female and one male member of the family were leaders of the ritual. The female member was always the head of the family, and the male was her brother.

Saumah-Kuriu, the head of the remaining *kakita:n* family of Tavarong, had three siblings; Namo?-Kuras¹⁰ (male), gadai-Kuriu (female), and Riga-Kuriu (female). In the Tavarong *irisig*, Saumah and her brother Namo? were the leaders. The ceremonial procedures followed about thirty years ago were described by informants Vuae-Mayau, Rata-Namo? (Saumah's husband), and Vudai-Kate, and are given in the paragraphs which follow.

One week before the start of the ritual, all the siblings of Saumah returned to the family house and began the observation of the tabo on eating fish and

9. The period of years between initiation rites varies in different Ami villages. Nataoran, Pokpok, and Ridau hold a *misujar* every seven years, Kiwit and Malan every three years.

10. This name is given as Namo?-Kuriu in *Taihoku Taihoku Daigaku, Jinshugaku Kenkyushitsu* [1935:chart 275].

796 vegetables. On the evening of the sixth day of the fast, Saumah ascended the roof of her own house and shouted "auuuu ... !" to inform the villagers to start preparations for the ritual. This act is termed *misamsam*. In the evening of the following day, Saumah repeated this performance, but in this case it was to inform her several related families. This phase is termed *misatamuru*. The evening of the eighth day of the fast, Saumah again ascended her roof and shouted "patanam kita ... !" Then, following this, Namo? went out to visit the related families.

The next day was the first day of the *irisig*. That morning, all the chiefs (*saparaŋau*) of Tavarong gathered in the *ka'ita:n* ceremonial house. Members of the senior grades who had performed unusual services for the tribesmen could be chiefs if they were recognized by other chiefs and by the monitors of all grades. In those days, there were about ten chiefs in the town. Wine, rice-cakes, chickens, and a pig were then offered to the gods in the ceremonial house. About twenty youths of the town were called to the *ka'ita:n* house and then dispatched to the neighboring villages to spread the word that the *irisig* had begun. Each youth took with him a bottle of wine which he presented to the *saparaŋau* of the village he visited. The chief who received the wine gave back a bottle in return; the youth brought this back to Tavarong and presented it to his *saparaŋau* and to the gods. The wine was then divided between the *saparaŋau* and the youths. Then, the youths left the house and danced in the courtyard; the chiefs remained inside the ceremonial house the whole night.

On the second day of the ritual, the youths of the town gathered and danced in front of the *ka'ita:n* house. The *saparaŋau* addressed the monitors of all fifteen grades inside the *ka'ita:n* house, the contents of their speeches being a survey of the results of the past year and admonitions to work hard and behave well in the future.

On the third day, age-grade members assembled in the houses of their own grade monitors and danced in the courtyards. The monitors repeated the addresses of the *saparaŋau* and urged the grade members to respect their elders and be on good behavior in the coming year.

The fourth day, representatives were sent by each age grade to the monitors of the elder grades to hear precepts from them. They retold these precepts to their own grade members on their return.

About two o'clock in the afternoon of the fifth day, all fifteen grades gathered in front of the *ka'ita:n* house. They first danced in the courtyard, then gath red before the *saparaŋau*; there they washed their hands in wine brought in by Namo?-Kuras this action removing evil and providing blessings. Saumah-Kuriu then entered the ceremonial house with two or three pecks of betel nuts, which she put on a table. After a blessing was pronounced over them by Saumah, they were distributed to all the attending grade members. The meeting was then dismissed. It was considered a happy omen to have a good dream that night.

On the sixth day, all grade members gathered once more in front of the *kakita:n* house. At this time, all the *sikawasai* (shamans) of the town came to the house and performed rites to ward off disease from the attending celebrants. Then, the *sikawasai* danced together, while the others went out to their own fields to perform a ceremony of mimical cultivation to guarantee a good harvest in the year to come.

The final day of the *irisig*, all the inhabitants of Tavarong went to fish in the streams and rivers. Each individual offered one fish to the gods to inform them that the New Year had commenced. After the celebrants returned to the town, the fish were offered to the *iqakusan*, the ancestral gods; the offering was then divided up among the populace and eaten, thus breaking the taboo on fish and vegetables. This concluded the *irisig*.

Conclusions

In our examination of Ami religion, we found that at least in part Ami society can be considered as a theocracy. The *kakita:n*, the hereditary priests, combined in their persons both temporal and spiritual power. The priestly house served as the ceremonial and political center of the tribesmen and may bear some theoretical importance as a possible prototype of the village-temple.

Shamans and priests are clearly distinguished among the Ami. The former succeeded by reincarnation, and the latter through inheritance. Ami shamanism [this was still true in 1953] is typically Asiatic, in that its practitioners are emotionally unstable individuals who derive their power from direct contact with the spiritual world; this contact is made at times of the greatest physical strain [chronic illness]. Ami shamanism is also of a non-Arctic type, since the neophyte is indoctrinated with the shamanistic techniques, instead of receiving them through spiritual experiences of a personal, charismatic nature. The shamans practice a complex and typically Indonesian type of divination.

As with many other peoples of the Indonesian culture area, no sharp distinction is made by the Ami between gods, spirits, and souls, which are all designated by the generic term *kawas*. However, the Ami are atypical among the Formosan tribes in that they possess a relatively highly developed genealogical mythology or theogony. The possible relation between this theogony and Ami social structure is worthy of future study. It may be of significance, for instance, that in this matrilineal society the sun is a female goddess, and the moon male. This spiritual world provides the power and justification for all Ami religious activities, being beseeched with prayers and bribed with offerings.

The *irisig*, the great New Year ceremony which was described in detail, is functionally a world renewal ritual, the renewal of the powers of the stream and soil and, in fact, a renewal of the whole society. In this, the population was

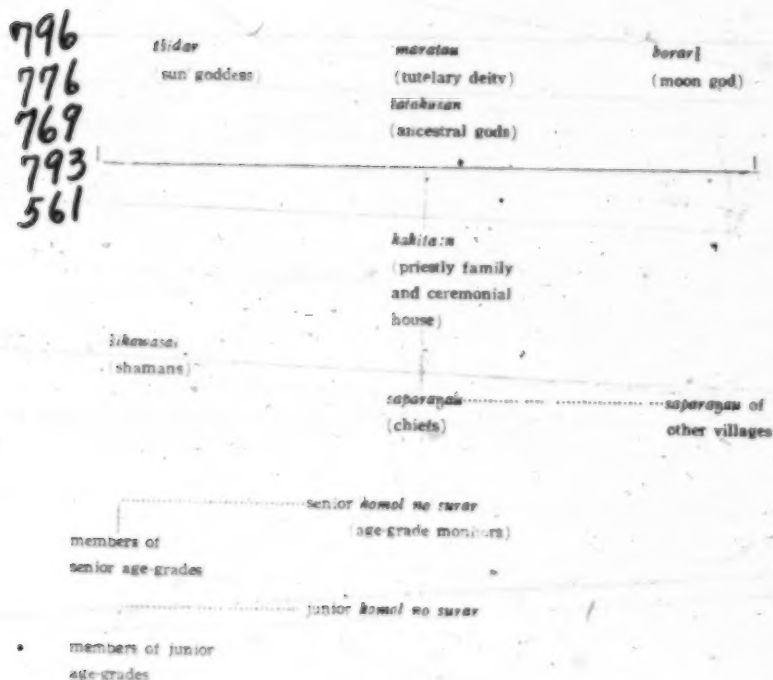


Figure 2: the Ami hierarchy at trisin

purified through fasting, symbolical washing of hands, and shamanistic expulsion of disease. The structure of the Ami universe is at this time stated as a hierarchy in which each rank of seniority hands down precepts to be obeyed by the next lower rank [see Figure 2]. At the top level, for among the Ami the spiritual world is contiguous with the material; are the sun goddess, the moon god, and *maratau*, the tutelary deity who instructed men in the order of things on earth. With them are the *tatatusan*, the ancestral gods who are to be respected as elders and whose way of life is to be followed. Under these were the *kakita:n*, the priestly families who carried out the will of the gods in this world. The rest of the Ami were arranged by seniority into a system of age-grades, each with its chosen monitor, and each harkening to the instructions passed down from the next senior age-grade. Acting as intermediaries between the priests and the laity were the *saparagan*, leaders of proven ability selected from the ranks of the elder grades. This structure was annually affirmed symbolically in the *irisig*, and it clear that it was basically gerontocratic in nature, in that the real power was in the hands of old men.

All this is of course now passing away, and element after element of the old Ami way of life is either disappearing or being reinterpreted to meet new conditions. In the realm of social organization, for instance, there is a definite drift in Tavarong and other Ami areas towards patrilineal descent and neolocality, a change fostered by Japanese and Chinese pressure. Ami religion is fast changing, and the *kakita:n* house itself is an unused, half-forgotten relic of interest primarily only to ethnographers. Shamanism for some as yet unexplained reason has persisted; this is a field for further study.

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